



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

SOMALIA: A CASE STUDY IN NATION BUILDING

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By

AHMED HASHI ELMi

**Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Degree
of Master of Science in the Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia**

August 2000



DEDICATION

To my parents,
My brothers and sisters, and my best friends

Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfilment requirement of the degree of Master of Science.

SOMALIA: A CASE STUDY IN NATION BUILDING

By

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August 2000

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Among Muslim nations, few have achieved an international standard of good governance. Somalia, completely dismembered by European colonial power, and now reduced to nearly total anarchy by the generation of post-independence rule, is desperately in need of help. After a thorough analysis of recent aid efforts, it is concluded that only the Somalis can rescue themselves.

An in depth interview was conducted on a select group of Somali and Malaysian intellectuals and diplomats. A first-hand observation was organized into a chronology of events during the post-independence years, and then this data was analysed in detail. The thesis findings involve a two-fold failure. Almost unaccountably, President Siyad Bare's post-independence rule quickly degenerated from an Islamic ideology expressed in "scientific socialist" political form, into a totally anarchy involving the worst forms of corruption, nepotism and tribalism. This is

The first failure in domestic nation building process. The second failure is the failure of the international community to render aid to the suffering and starving Somali people in any effective way.

The panels of informants have elucidated many factors contributing to both the domestic and international failures. From their comments and commentaries, it become clear that individual initiative and the African-based solution would is the only hope to resolve the problem of nation building in Somalia.

Free market initiatives from the people themselves, as well as self-help social and educational programs; have already begun to appear out of the chaos. Given time, patience, and non-intrusive support from others, the Somalian have the potential to make these programmes successfully for nation building.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia
sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Master Sains

SOMALIA: SATU KAJIAN KES PENBANGUNAN NEGARA BANGSA

Oleh

AHMED HASHI ELMi

August 2000

Pengerusi: Md. Bohari Ahmed

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Di kalangan Negara Islam hanya segelintir negara yang mencapai taraf antara bangsa dari segi pemerintahan yang baik. Somalia dipandang sepi oleh negara-negara Eropah yang bernah menjajahnya dan kini menjadi sebuah negara yang anarki oleh pemerintah generasi selepas merdeka, berusaha mencari pertolongan. Akan tetapi sebenarnya selepas membuat analisis terhadap bantuan terbaharu, maka kesimpulannya, hanya Somalia boleh membantu dirinya sendiri.

Satu temuduga yang mendalam dibuat terhadap sekumpulan Somali yang tinggal di Malaysia di kalangan cendiakawan dan diplomat. Segala pandangan pertama mereka telah disusum mengikut kronologi dan dianalisa dengan mendalam. Penemuan tesis mendapati kegagalan dua belah pihak.

Hampir tidak bertanggungjawab, presiden Siyad Bare dengan cepat merobah ideologi Islamnya dikenali sebagai “Scientific Socialist” kepada korupsi sepenuhnya melibatkan rasuah, nepotisma dan tribalisma yang begitu keji. Inilah kegagalan yang pertama, kegagalan domestik, kegagalan bagi orang Somalia sendiri. Kegagalan kedua, ialah kegagalan komuniti antara bangsa memberi pertolongan terhadap penderitaan dan kebuluran orang Somalia secara berkesan.

Pemberi maklumat menjelaskan banyak faktor yang menyumbang kepada kedua-dua, kegagalan domestik dan antara bangsa. Daripada penerangan mereka, menjadi lebih jelas kepada saya bahawa inisiatif individu dan penyelesaian ala-Afrika merupakan hanya harapan untuk Somalia. Sebagai kesimpulan, situasi yang sama di negara-negara sub-Sahara.

Pasaran bebas yang diusahakan oleh rakyatnya sendiri, termasuk sistem bantu-diri dan program pendidikan, sedia muncul di tengah-tengah kegawatan. Hanya masa, kesabaran dan tanpa gangguan dari yang lain, orang Somalia mempunyai potensi contoh demokratik yang boleh disebarkan ke bahagian lain Afrika, malah seluruh dunia.

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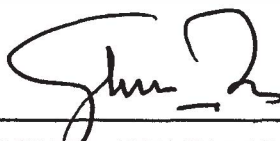
I certify that an Examination Committee met on 21 August 2000 to conduct the final examination of Ahmed Hashi Elmi on his Master thesis entitled "Somalia: A Case Study in Nation Building" in accordance with Universiti Pertanian Malaysia (Higher degree) act 1980 and Universiti Pertanian Malaysia (Higher degree) act 1981. The committee recommends that the candidate be awarded the relevant degree. Members of the Examination Committee are as follows:

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This thesis submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia has been accepted as fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science.

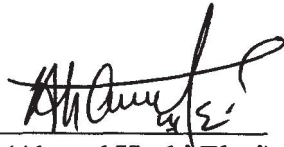


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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis is based on my original work except for quotations and citation, which have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted for any other degree at UPM or other institutions.


(Ahmed Hashi Elmi)

Date: 18 DEC 2000

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ABBREVIATIONS

FAPLA	Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola
FNLA	National Front for the Angola
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
OAU	Organisation for African Unity
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
CNN	Cable News Network
PDPA	Party Democratic People of Afghanistan
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
SNM	Somali National Movement
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
USC	United Somali Congress
SNA	Somali National Alliance
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority for Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN	United Nation
SRC	Supreme Revolutionary Council
SDA	Somali Democratic Alice
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

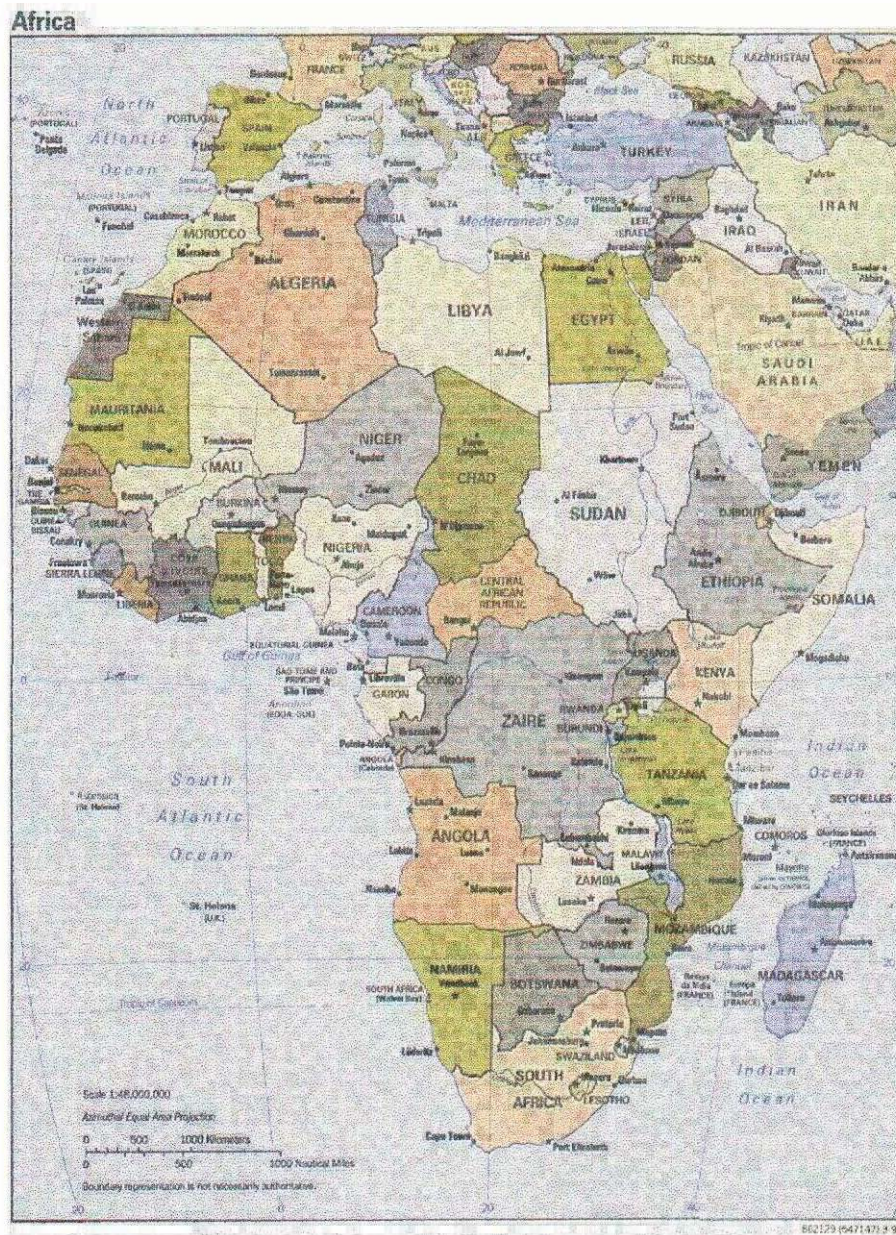
Background

Somalia (see Figure. 1) is located on the Horn of Africa, the point where the African continent stretches out towards the Arab world. It controls access to the Red Sea and is closely linked to the oil rich region of the Arab Peninsula and the Gulf.

By the eighteen-century, the Somalians had essentially developed their present way of life, which is pastoral and Islamic. During the colonial period beginning in 1869 with the opening of the Suez Canal, the Horn of Africa suddenly became strategically more important for the European powers. Between 1885 and 1908, Britain, France and Italy colonised and divided among themselves the long Somalia coast (see Figure. 2). During the period of colonialism the country was split into five parts, two under the British, and one each under the Italian, the French, and the Ethiopian.

The new Republic of Somalia (see Figure.2) was formed in 1960 and it consisted of only two out of the five parts of the previous Somalia. The two regions are British Somaliland, which achieved independence on

Figure .1 The Political Map of African Borders



Sources: from <http://www.yahoo.com> (under search Map of Africa)

Figure .2 The Political Map of Somalia



Sources: from <http://www.yahoo.com> (under search Map of Somalia)

June 26 1960 and the Italian trust territory of Somalia that achieved Independence on July 1 1960.

The other three parts remained under foreign control. The Ogaden region, (Somali western part) which is under Ethiopian administration as well as Northern Front District (NFD), is under Kenyan administration. Djibouti that was under French but had achieved its independence in 1977 during the Ogaden war between Ethiopia and Somalia and became independent state, Republic of Djibouti not joined rest of the Somalia.

Somalia transition to independence differed radically from that of most African states. In 1950 the former Italian colony was placed under a United Nations trusteeship and administered by Italy. Although British Somaliland retained its colonial status until independence, changes instituted by the United Nations in the trusteeship territory influenced political developments there as well. As a result, Somalia's independence as a unified state practising multiparty parliamentary democracy was attained relatively painlessly.¹

The early post-independence period was dominated by difficult in integrating the former colonial territories and in addition the new state had conflicts with Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti arising from Somalia's Irredentism demands. Internal political conflicts revolved around methods

¹ Harold, D. (1982) Somalia a Country Study. Washington DC: American University press, pp.3-4

of handling these difficulties. Competition for electoral support widened cleavages within the nation as politicians sought the backing of rival regional and clan groups, thereby often obscuring the country's pressing need for development.

Somalia has a land area of 637, 540 square kilometres, and a terrain that consists mainly of plateau and highlands. The weather is hot throughout the year, except the higher elevations in the north. Moderate rainfall is confined to the northwest, and particularly in the southwest, where the country's two main rivers are found; in these regions agriculture is practised.²

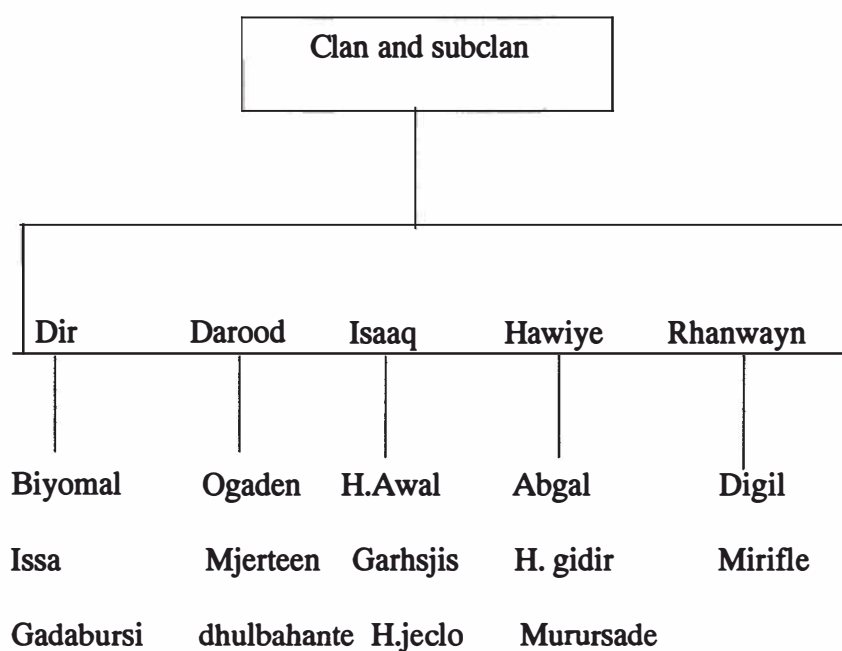
Somalia has a long coastline of about (3,025 kilometres). The coastline is important for trade with the Middle East and the rest of East Africa. The exploitation of the shore and the continental shelf for fishing and other purposes had barely begun by the early 1990s. Sovereignty was claimed over territorial waters up to 200 nautical miles. Somalis have four seasons, two rainy (gu' and dayr) and two dry (jiilaal and haggaa). The GU rains begin in April and last until June, and dayr by the day rains from October to November.

Somali population is about six million and is made up of five major clans: Darood, Hawiye, Isaak, Dir, and Rahaweyn. (see figure 3.) Each

² Helen, M. (1992) Somali Country Study. Washington DC: American University press, p.10

clan is then subdivided into six or more subclans and each subclans and farther subclans. All the lineage's extended families and divided small groups which are known (jilib) whom are living same region or district, which pays and receives blood compensation in cases involving homicide. But in general Somali people share a common language, physical characteristic, religion, customs, and tradition.

Table 1. Somalian Clan Family



Somalia: After Independence from 1960-91

When Somalia was formed in 1960, it was adopted a Parliamentary democracy. It lasted from June to October 1969 in a constant state of confusion. There were up to 60 political parties. All expression of the various clans and sub-clans (see Table .1). But as soon as the elections

were over, they all allied to the dominant Somali Youth League (SYL), the nationalist party that had been nurtured by British Military Administration between 1941 and 1948. Since the SYL was the only national party with a support that was relatively broadly based across the clans, the various other parties, which were in fact clan-based interest group, rallied to the SYL, dominated government in order to be able to benefit from the state. Thus the country lived both with a myriad of parties and a de-facto single party. This system led to massive corruption and a strong disenchantment on the part of the public towards its government. In October 1969, a group of military officers took power in bloodless coup d'état.

The new government had all the trappings of the then fashionable socialist military regimes: a single party, a single trade union, a strongly controlled press, close ties with the USSR, and mass organisation for women, youth and workers given the emphasis on the reunification of the Somali people. It also had an aggressive foreign policy and spent massive share of its budget on military expenses. Since regimes potential foes Ethiopia, Kenya, and France were all, in the cold war context of the time. Close American allies Somalia entered into the very close relations with USSR and the government declared it self to be adherent of scientific socialism to please its new Soviet friends. Progressive foreign intellectuals duly tried to discover the social and economic basis for a